1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Botis are very social people in their habits, and every event is made the pretext for a feast, which usually ends in great uproariousness, and frequently in general drunkenness. Huge bowls of *Chang* form the chief attraction of an entertainment, and the song* and the laugh abound, until the liquor is finished. On these occasions they prefer merry or drinking songs. The singer is often accompanied by a fiddler, and sometimes by a drum. Exhibitions of female dancers frequently form a principal part of an entertainment; but the performers are more remarkable for their costume than for their graceful movements. The principal occasions on which these entertainments are held, are births, marriages, and deaths. The ceremonies are the following:

The birth-feast, *Tsas-Ton*, is held one week after the mother's confinement, when all the relatives assemble at her house to celebrate the child's birth. All the guests make presents to the mother, according to their means, of pieces of cloth and food, and occasionally of money. The party then dines, and the entertainment ends with a bowl of chang. The mother remains at home for one month.

The naming-feast, *Ming-Ton*, which answers to our christening, is held just one year after the birth. The child is then taken before some great lama, to whom an offering is made of a rupee or a quantity of wheat or barley, according to the means of the parties. The lama pronounces a name, and the relatives retire to the usual entertainment of dinner and chang.

The marriage-feast, *Bag-Ton*, is a much more formal business. When betrothed, the bridegroom proceeds to

* A drinking-song is appropriately called *Chang-gLu*, a "liquor-song."

436 coins and there, as well as in Ladakh, Kashmir, and other neighboring countries there is a lot of forged money in circulation.

787 "Chag t'sal, I pay you my profoundest respects." With these words Lobsang Wanggyal takes his leave of the shrewd soothsayer in a polite but cool way. He would prefer to sever all relations with this man who, his common sense tells him, is making a profitable business of his art of divination, and yet--did he not know more than others? "Trashis shig! Hail to you!" answers the devil-tamer, as though his horoscope was to bring the fulfillment of this beautiful wish.

To Lobsang Wanggyal's ears it sounded like mockery, and pensively he went home. If the onpo writes out many more such prescriptions, my son is going to be a great expense to me. But--at the moment it is only this one, and for the time being it will remain this one only. And then I am not concerned with a few rupees more or less. If only the boy is spared!"

Lobsang Wanggyal's neighbor, the shopkeeper Pagspa Ngurub, does things more inexpensively. He let the onpo alone and simply questioned fate by means of the shoulder blade of a sheep, or by means of the dice; or else he counted off on the beads of his rosary and appeased the evil spirits by a small scattered offering of barley and beer. The neighbor could do as he wished. Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty and wanted to be armed against all wiles of the evil spirits, whatever the cost.

/23/ What is the Boy to be Called?

●553 One month after the birth of his heir Lobsang Wanggyal one morning saddles his horse and sets out on the way to Leh, the capital of Ladakh which lies a three days' journey further up the valley of the Indus. There he has some business matters to take care of; but aside from this he wants to carry out another important errand: he wants the skushog (11) Bakula to give him a suitable name for his little son.

792 11. A skushog (Tibetan also sprul-sku) is the incarnation of a Buddha or of a holy man of previous ages. The Bakula mentioned here is the reincarnation of the great Arhat (master) and apostle of Buddhism of the same name. Skushog Bakula played an important role as abbot of the monastery Spituk

near Leh, and he exercised a very powerful influence in his day. 792

So much depends upon the proper name. His poor neighbor, to save expense, had chosen the names for his recently born son himself with the aid of the wise women of his tribe and of a lama who was related to him. "Sodnam Drandul" he had named his offspring. The first name (Sodnam, which is "merit") designates its bearer as a pious Buddhist who places value upon the gaining of virtuous merits; the second name (Drandul, which is "tamer of enemies") was to overcome by its magical power all enemies which might oppose themselves to its bearer, especially the innumerable evil spirits in the air, on earth, and under the earth. A powerful name works wonders as a protective means. But Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty. Such a holy, wise, and powerful skushog as Bakula could, after all, read quite differently in the pages of the dark future and would be able to avert threatening misfortune by a suitable name and by other means. After three days of traveling the Dragshos arrived at the monastery Spitug 553 /sic./. He was lucky; he was soon admitted into the presence of the 792 mighty one, a man in his middle years, corpulent, with a closely shaved head and an intelligent facial expression. With legs crossed under him he was sitting in his abbot's cell on a raised, flat seat covered with carpets. He was clothed with garments of heavy, yellow Chinese silk. In the presence of several serving lamas in the red dress of their order Bakula received the Dragshos. Lobsang Wanggyal handed one of the lamas a ka-btags (greeting band), a copper plate with dried apricots, almonds and sugar on it, as well as a rupee in silver, which the lama placed in front of the skushog. Now Lobsang Wanggyal bowed deeply three times before the holy man and with both hands embraced the latter's legs. The holy man thereupon accorded his blessing to the /24/ suppliant with a negligent movement of the hand. Then he presented him with a narrow, yellow strip of silk with a knot [789] in it, a "magical knot" (gzuns-mdud), over which he had first repeated a powerful formula (gzuns) while breathing upon it. The recipient of this knot immediately fastened it as a protecting amulet to his cap.

But the Dragshos was not yet satisfied with this. Only now did he come forth with his real request and he added to it, that his little son already had fallen sick once of a bad intestinal disease, something which the angered water gods had probably afflicted him with. He was thinking in this case of his experience while watering his garden

553 792 on the evening after the birth of his little son. The skushog assumed a concerned expression and thought the matter over for a while, then he said: "The Lu (water gods) are angered at your little son, and the red Tsan-demons are hostile to him; there is no doubt about that. We must choose a good, powerful protective name. Name your son Drogpa Namgyal (Tibetan aBro-pa rNam-rgyal; Drogpa--"Great Conqueror") (12). The name will keep away all evil spirits."

563 177 12. The Drogpa (abrog-pa) are an Aryan tribe which penetrated into western Tibet from the northwest, Dards from the highlands of Gilgit and Astor. Western Tibet was in earlier times settled only by Tibetan nomads. There in the mountain wildernesses the immigrating Dards planted fields, built villages, cities and fortifications and apparently lived peacefully side by side with the nomadic Tibetans in the land at first. Later these Drogpa were partly driven out and partly subjugated by the Tibetans who had learned agriculture from them as from the Indian Mon; so that today the Drogpa are only to be found in a few villages. Although the Drogpa frequently intermingled with the Tibetans, they are nevertheless despised today by the latter. In the mouth of the Tibetan the word Drogpa is as much as an insulting name. The Mon are even lower in the opinion of the Tibetans. The ancestors of the Mon brought, in the last centuries before Christ, Buddhism together with Indian culture from their homeland in the northwestern India to western Tibet and built monasteries and villages as centers of their missionary and colonizing activity. They, too, were partly driven out and partly suppressed by the Tibetans. Nowadays the Mon are only found still in single families and tribes in the villages of Ladakh, where they are active as carpenters and musicians. As such they are much in demand, but nevertheless they are very much despised just as the smiths (gar-ba), who are also of Indian extraction, as well as the Beda who travel through the country as an itinerant people, musicians and jugglers. All these despised names: Drogpa, Mon, Garba, Beda are often given to a child as a protective name on its way through life; with it is connected the naive conception that the evil spirit will be frightened off because behind the name it will suspect a real "dirty Drogpa" or "dirty smith." (Compare A. H. Francke, + [illegible] - Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 ff.)

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8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 A4 W. Tibetans A4
Spiti 49a

Divorce.

A son-in-law who has been adopted cannot be divorced by his wife as in Ladâkh. 586

There is no custom in Spiti of a widow divorcing herself from her dead husband.

Unfaithfulness and refusal to cohabit are reasons for divorce, but incompatibility of temper is not.

In cases of divorce both parties go to the Nono.

If the woman is in fault, her jewels and *perâk* (head ornament) and a pony are given to the husband. If the man is in fault, a field is given to the woman for her maintenance, but she can only retain it so long as she does not marry again. The man may re-marry. [587]

A wife's adultery is usually condoned by the present of a few rupees to the injured husband. A husband's unfaithfulness usually only results in a quarrel. A single lapse is not ground for a divorce, and only cohabitation with his paramour can give his wife right to a divorce. 586 837

Pregnancy.

A married woman wears white breeches till she is pregnant, when she wears red or black. Unmarried girls wear white breeches up to twelve and afterwards red or black. 843 292

Naming.

The name of a child is selected by a *lâma* after reference to the Sacred Books, who receives for the service a *khâta*, or piece of cloth, such as is given by visitors to a monastery. 553 793

When naming the child, the *lâma* places a little bit of cloth upon it, or, if the child be not present, sends the cloth to its parents.

In every monastery *kesar*, or green, water is kept; i.e., water in which *kêsar*, saffron, has been placed. And sometimes, but not always, when naming a child, the *lâma* sprinkles it with *kêsar* water.

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by people who cannot write, is a sign of the well-being 000

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiri

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The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *lâma* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

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If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

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If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *lâma* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *lâma* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own *got*, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

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Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *lâma* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot object.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

because she simply could not keep awake otherwise. At the end of a month the burning of incense purifies the mother, and she may again handle the culinary utensils, while the birth-feast is now celebrated, in which all the houses of the village should at least be represented. In Leh, however, with its 8,000 or more inhabitants, this would be almost an impossibility, so this like other ceremonies, has had to be modified. Thus, to see the real customs of the country one must go to the villages. Every guest brings with him to the feast a pot of barley-meal called *Marzan*. All the contributions are now mixed together, and each lady present partakes of the joint dish. This is called the *Dargang*. The *Ming tagches*, which means the " tying-on " of a name, is postponed till a convenient season, this being the coming of a *Skushog*, who is requested to select a suitable designation. Sometimes caution also calls for a postponement of the christening, for evil spirits are keen on boys, and the name may give away the sex. However, if necessary, one can camouflage this by "tying" a girl's name on to a boy. Until the naming, a boy is called *Brogpa*, or his little sister *Brogma*, for what could be more ugly than these old Dardish descendants ? Evil spirits prefer pretty children, but would have no desire to carry off a *Brogpa* child ! Sometimes *Ming tagches* is quite omitted, and then this opprobrious appellation has to be borne throughout life. Thoroughly to cheat these foolish spirits, it is a good plan to make the children look as hideous as their namesakes by drawing a dirty black mark across the forehead over the bridge to the tip of the nose. Sometimes it is necessary to push the delusion still further. The sad parents have lost three or four children, and how can they save their latest arrival ? They have already called it *Brogpa* and made it as hideous as one of these gentlemen, so now only one thing remains to be done—it must be sent to live with these disgusting people, and failing these, to a Mon blacksmith or musician.

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113 gSer-gyi-bu-zhun, from which the text and the notes were published in J & P ASB., /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal/ Vol. III, p. 121 ff.

539 In Khalatse, situated on the Indus River about
115 forty English miles below Leh, I made the acquaintance of a man
●[553] who was called dKon-mchog-bkra-shis. His surname name rGya-
113 mthso-pa derived from the circumstance that he had married into the house of rGya-mthso-pa in Khalatse. Actually, however, he came from Lerdo (Lai-rdo) across from sKyur-bu-can in Purig (Burig). This man possessed extensive knowledge about the Kesar saga, and for this reason he was invited to recite at all family festivals in the village. His version apparently originated in Lerdo in Purig. For many weeks I worked with this singer and with the scribe and teacher of Khalatse, Ye-shes-rig-adzin, and in this way I obtained the version of the Kesar saga that I have called the "Lower Ladakhi Version." This /3/ has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica under the numbers 1134, 1151, 1164, and 1218. dKon-mchog-brka-shis material was however, not yet exhausted with this. He continued with his narratives and now reported the adventures of the chief heroes of the sagas besides Kesar. I have published these sagas under the title: "The Paladins of the Kesarsaga," in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, No. 10, Vol. III, No. 2, Vol. III, No. 5.

539 In all the publications in India I gave the text in its entirety, but
113 I had to dispense with a translation because of lack of time. Instead of a translation I appended to each chapter a detailed table of contents and lists of the proper names and of the uncommon words. The Lower Ladakhi Version contains the entire material of the Kesar saga, as indicated below. For the most part, therefore, it covers the same ground as the Sheh version. Yet it contributes not only new elements with respect to the style of the poetic passages, but also a great many interesting and important variants.

The collection, The Paladins of the Kesar Saga, on the other hand, contains entirely new material, under the following headings: 1. Kesar's beloved Mon (man of a low caste). 2. The story of the hero sKyaba-rgod-po (Jan war). 3. The story of the hero Shel-gyi-bu-zhun. 4. The story of the hero rGyal-sa-dkar-po.

585 II. The Wedding Songs (Nyo-pai-glu). At each wedding in the
539 region of the West Tibetans (Ladakh, Purig, and so forth), the following ceremony is performed: Seven friends of the bridegroom, who call themselves Nyo-pa-spun-bdun, "The buyers, the seven

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

595 114 form which I gave it then. I have since learned Tibetan, and I had the good fortune to be able to review it with my Ladaki informant, Nono Tse-P'hün, in Kalimpong, on the 3rd December 1953, so that I have made many corrections in the spelling, and have given what now appears to be the correct orthography of the names.

595 601 [115] The Bata household was situated quite close to Leh, in the immediate vicinity, like the first families which we visited: It consisted of four people, one elderly man called Döndrup, his son Murup, the latter's wife Palkid, and her *porjag* whose name was Paljor; he was the youngest of the Shing-k'hang-pa household which we had examined earlier, and the genealogy of which is given in Table 33. All these people acted as informants, Nono Tse-P'hün gathering information for me not from only one of them but rather from them all together as they stood outside their house and talked with us. They all lived in the Bata *k'hang-chen*, there being no reason, as we shall see, for Döndrup, the elder, to go to a *k'hang-gu*. The house was of the usual type, standing close to the cultivations. We remained outside, and spoke to these people in the field, as can be seen from the photograph (Fig. 41), which I took at the conclusion of the interview.

[591] [126]

In Table 34, in which the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*bTsong-mK'har-pa*) household is given, it will be seen that the Bata household grew out of it in the following way. Döndrup's father, Tsong-gu Malik, now dead, was married to a woman called Sonam of the Bata household, one which was well-known in Leh. They had three children, all boys, of whom Döndrup was the youngest. With the elder brothers, P'hüntzok and Pe-leg, he married polyandrously a woman named Putit of P'ho-sang household. And with this common wife, the brothers had no less than twelve children, of whom six died and six survived.

[428] Döndrup's mother, Sonam, died after all her brothers, and no heirs remained for the Bata household from which she had come; none were even adopted it seemed. For this reason, after P'hüntzok and Pe-leg had taken over the *k'hang-chen* of the Tsong-k'har-pa house, Döndrup was made heir to the Bata household, that is the one of his mother. He went and lived there immediately, and the sons he had with his brothers' common wife, helped him to cultivate the land there.

[1497] [553] [591] The eldest of these boys, Ishe Paljor, together with his brother, Ishe (now dead), then married a certain Moslem woman, who took the name Senghe Tsomo when she became Buddhist (as she should to marry Buddhists). These children then took over the *k'hang-chen*, and P'hüntzok and Pe-leg moved into the *k'hang-gu* at Tsong-k'har-pa. A third

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head. It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for superstitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak, and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do